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[Information on the maloca, the communal shelter, has been filed in category 592.]

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).
T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.
501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.
T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.
262 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.
278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé,
756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
• 621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/368 cont./

621 of the soul, a social cult of the dead would be foreseen. Manifestations of this cult are the elegy-weeping, the interment, the banquet and funeral feast.

758 1) The elegy-weeping. The coldness and insensitivity (82)

> 82. Sometimes, it seems to us, even cruelty, denying them even food and drink (cf. V-17).

with which these natives of the Uaupés see any member of the family waste away, even if it is their own father, mother, or child, is striking. The sick one is found in a hammock hung in a darker corner, and a few meters away the occupants of the maloca or house /369/ laugh, talk, eat, amuse themselves, as if no sick person was there (83).

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> 83. We have already noted that, to the question by the Missionary as to whether anyone is sick (see V-16) in the maloca or povoado, they systematically answer no. Perhaps the silence or the denial has its cause in a belief or some magic concept unknown to us. And from this same concept might be derived the insensitivity, perhaps only apparent, which gives rise to our opinion. To the Padre who scolded a native who left his old father without food, he responded: -- "Why should I give him food? He is going to die!"
>
> Pe. João Marchesi writes (ap. "Os Tucanos /The Tucano/," by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13): "In the same house, sometimes a relative is in agony, but nevertheless they will not take the least care to spare him

4: Silva--697 M-4,5 (1948-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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2) Local or Territorial Group.

a) Local group.

The natives of the Uaupés demonstrate a great spirit of sociability. Tribes differing in origin and in language live a short distance from each other, connected by the ties of exogamous marriage, the cordiality (93)

> 93. It seems that we can advance this statement, even though knowing that not only individuals bear resentment and harbor desires for vengeance against other individuals, even of their own tribe, but recalling besides that there are groups hostile toward other groups of the same tribe. The vengeances and fights, especially on the occasions of the caxiri, reveal these enmities and aversions that the natives know how to hide under the mask of an external cordiality.

in their social relations, inviting each other reciprocally for the great feasts and maintaining the tradition of generous hospitality. Moreover, there are found today in one and the same povoado individuals or families from another tribe, almost always in order to facilitate the application of exogamy. One and the same tribe, as was seen (Ch. III), is found scattered along the rivers in a vast territory, subdivided into groups that are alternated with those of another tribe.

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Originally each group or Gens lived in a community, in a large dwelling called maloca, Wi'ʃ pahirʃwi, which means great house, collective dwelling. Besides the advantages of an economic nature, this would facilitate defense against animals and human beings.

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With the advance of civilization, security has grown and increased, and, on the other hand, likewise the demands for comfort. For this reason, the primitive malocas have been disappearing and are succeeded by the povoados or groupings of family residences.

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4: Silva--698 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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Not rarely the dissension within a group provokes schisms, bringing as a result the departure of the dissidents, who go to build a new maloca or povoado farther away.

It is probable that originally each maloca was, in a strict sense, a family, in which the sons remained beside the father, and under his direction, even after they were married. We thus conceive the local group as being originally an agnatic community. There is, as a matter of fact, an expression current among the natives: "I am a person of N," and he says the name of the tuxaua himself.

[178] At present the two forms of local grouping are found: either everyone lives under one and the same roof, the maloca; or each family has its own residence, the povoados resulting. It is to be noted, however, that there are povoados only on the banks of the large rivers and through the influence and under the protection of the catechesis.

[594] /459/ In one form or another, however, the families constitute distinct groups and, what is even more remarkable in the regime of the maloca, autonomous ones. One understands the reason for this autonomy: there is in the tribes of the Uaupés a fusion of the two "ateliers," the masculine one (of fishing) and the feminine one (tiller), which complement each other and are sufficient for the maintenance of the family.

b) The social organization.

The gregarious life that the forest dwellers live demands the observance of certain norms establishing the relations among the individuals, or a certain social organization is necessary.

These relationships are, besides, quite natural, due to the very simplicity of the life they lead; and, on the other hand, are religiously observed. They are all customary, that is, practiced by custom, and it can not be learned whether they were given by a legislator, Wãx-tĩ, as the legends teach; or whether, on the contrary, they were customs introduced naturally and which experience approved, established, and made inviolable. Or whether

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621 592 614 perhaps one should distinguish between the different relations, some of which, for example, that of exogamous marriage, might have had a positive origin, and the others might be of consuetudinary origin.

Even in small groups, although perfectly and smoothly harmonized, the distinction of social assemblages, with their duties, their characteristic attributes, their peculiar directives, is easily perceptible. In each local group we can distinguish four categories of individuals: 1st, the tuxáua; 2nd, the Komũã (elders); 3rd, the men (more or less scaled by their ages and experience); 4th, the women and children.

These different categories, however, are closely connected to one another by unifying and stabilizing principles: 1st, a common house, the regime of the maloca, which, at least in the beginning, was in force as a general norm and without exception; 2nd, the provisions in common: a custom that is maintained in the maloca regime and, in a more attenuated way, also in the povoado system; 3rd, the common inheritance of the maloca, of zones for fishing and hunting, and of everything that is the property of the group; 4th, the fear of the spirits, with great unitive power, corresponding to the native mentality; 5th, vengeance, which the group will exercise against the one suspected of having caused the death of one of its members.

A further word about the first two categories of individuals is advisable.

c) "Bũxkõrá-kurá" -- (Council of elders).

622 623 Watching over the observance of the customs and the feasts is a Council of elders, the Bũxkõrá-kurá (called Moacaretá in Nheengatú). It is made up of the Tuxaua, who is its hereditary president and also speaker and executor of its decisions, the Paje, and two or three more /460/ men of greater ascendancy. These men are the Komũã (pl. of Komũ), as the natives express themselves, whom we saw appear (VII - 2, e (3)) as "initiates" and, up to a certain point, helping the paje.

/481 cont./

2) Annual cycle.

132 The climate of those regions does not seem to offer marked
221 changes in order for the rhythm of the daily life of the Indian to be altered. As /482/ a matter of fact, the thermometer, the barometer, and the hygrometer will show the same average throughout the year. Owing to the rains of the headwaters of the rivers, however, a season of high waters and another of low ones are distinguished. And the annual cycle is perhaps more varied for the Indian than it customarily is among the civilized.

476 Besides the labor that is incumbent upon every individual for
• 621 his home life, there are others that concern the entire community and that for this reason are performed collectively under the direction of the tuxaua. They might perhaps be the repairs of the maloca or the building of a new one, in the same place or perhaps quite far away from the old one. Or again it might be the cleaning of the areas adjacent to the maloca, of the common paths or of the landing place. It might be a matter of some clearing for some Indian, who will obtain the help of his tribal brothers, although for his private use. The individuals are advised in advance, in order to make their arrangements. If it is a matter of work for the collectivity, everyone is obliged to participate in it. If, instead, it is help for some brother, one can reasonably excuse oneself; one would not do it, however. And in either case there is only one conventional, sufficient, and agreeable payment: a caxiri, which has also been prepared beforehand. The collective work is done without even any need for a technical director, because it is always done according to the traditions, under the simple directions of the tuxaua or of the individual concerned. It is noisy and cheerful work, true competitions of strength and
[192] activity, as well as of good humor and cheerfulness. It is what is called Dará-serẽsé, in Nheengatú ajurí or mutirão (2).

2. Ajurí would properly be the invitation, and putirum (from which the term made into Portuguese, mutirão), the collective work. Stradelli, in his

*193 /482 cont./

• 621 476 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the same as what is called mutyrum on the lower Amazon."

527 221 226 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 222 527 At different times of the year great quantities of insects appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

797 527 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the Indians of the different povoados, move to

/483 cont./

562 868 The girl must get used to work and, with the mother's training, will learn the several skills that someday will make her a good mother of a family. The boys will run loose in the forest, looking for fruits, will wander along the rivers, entertained by swimming or fishing, practicing at shooting arrows at fish or birds, and thus they will become able to provide the subsistence of the /484/ family. In the ajurís, in the traditional tasks, they will acquire beside the father that skill which will make them great oarsmen or expert basketmakers.

881 Children of both sexes start being conscious of themselves as members of the tribe, of which they will learn to be proud. They will eagerly desire to become a member integrated into its life and traditions, that is, they dream of the "initiation."

581 Once the instincts are developed, they understand that it falls to them to perpetuate the existence of the group, and they aspire to marriage. The national customs indicate to them the means of realizing it; for that step they will not lack the intervention and help of the father.

593 He has naturally experienced up to now the love and the attention of his parents and the camaraderie of his contemporaries. Now he is joined to a companion for his entire life. Unknown perhaps and a foreigner, but their cares, their spirit of work, their long life together, vicissitudes, shared joys and sadness, everything ends by making uniform the spirits of the spouses, connected especially by the bond of love for their children in common. Under more difficult conditions, because she is forced to leave the paternal home and go to another nation as a wife, the woman will still feel very actively connected to her tribe of origin, as well as to the new maloca in which she is a wife and mother.

• 621 With the years the ties that join the Indian to the group in which he was born, which educated him, which gave him assistance and support, for which he has also worked cheerfully on the collective enterprises, are strengthened. The group that provided him with frequent joys with its traditional feasts and, with its mysterious legends, gave satisfaction to his intimate aspirations toward something that he does not understand, but feels will exist beyond the grave.

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formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

THE COMMUNITY

The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the Cuduiarí the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahúkiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop.

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in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise attack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were confident they left the women and children behind in the house with a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza. Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be allowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiari, for example, a trail leads to the Querarí. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 300 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahúkiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another — architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.

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621 592 the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. The Cubeo believe that one roof unites a community while several roofs divide it.

621 311 Size of maloca is adapted in some measure to cultivable terrain. We have already noted that seasonal flooding and the requirement of good river frontage limit the availability of land for relatively permanent cultivation. But these are highly variable factors. Along the Vaupés, a deep river basin that can carry a great volume of water, there are vast stretches of dry land that have become the sites of civilized population centers. There is no doubt that from terrain alone the Vaupés could have supported far greater Indian populations than it did at the time of first contact. Along the Vaupés the limiting factor seems to have been social. On the Cuduiarí, on the other hand, land contours are such as to divide frontages into much smaller segments. On this smaller stream, terrain has been a more significant factor in limiting community size. But even on the Cuduiarí, land utilization is [614] subject to strong social considerations. One consideration is that sibs must retain their traditional boundaries. This means that with slash-burn horticulture the sib territory must provide, as a minimum, a three-step cycle in which a community returns to its original land after 10 to 15 years. The well-situated tract must then be at least three times the average land requirement at any given time.

361 244 There is still another consideration, and that is the distance of manioc gardens from the residence. When they prepare a clearing, the Cubeo bear in mind the distance a woman will have to trudge with her burdens of manioc, a baby, and firewood. That is why the gardens are laid out along a semicircle. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop. It needs reasonably dry soil and it makes heavy demands upon the time and energy of a woman for its cultivation, transportation, and preparation. Whatever can be saved from travel time is an advantage.

621 182 The thesis of ecological adaptation, however, can be argued most successfully in the abstract. If one notes the actual events in the life of a community, then the processes of community growth and community fission appear in quite a different light. The balance of forces of fusion and of fission that hold community size to its stable limits in harmony with the natural environment are not entirely economic. They often include personal factors. To state this more precisely: the economic factor affects fusion strongly but has less direct bearing upon fission. Satellites, for example, are urged to return to the fold, guests are urged to stay on, and daughters are invited to take up residence [578] in their own sib if there is ample land. Splitting, on the other hand, occurs because of personal quarrels and rarely because of a feeling of land shortage.

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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiarí; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way.

Among the factors affecting community size the tradition of the maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain.

The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 91). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, become the center of a large community made up of many houses.

In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahúkiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y general*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habóhũ*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kendmi upáhũ* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along

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the Cuduiarí I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails — but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
(592) self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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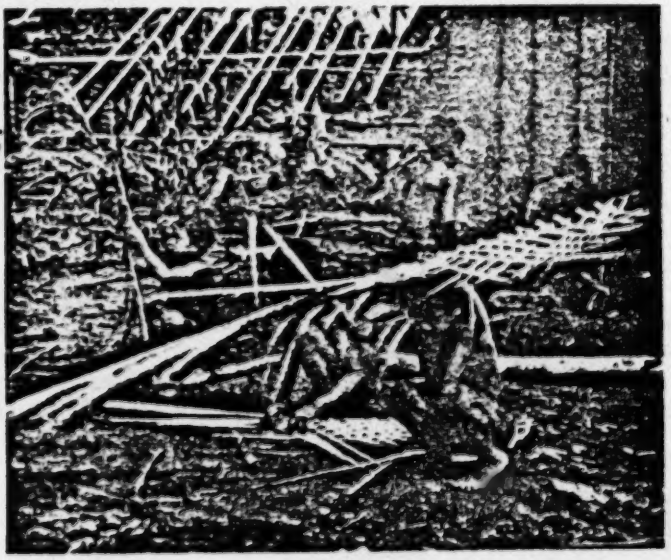

Fig. 2. Children helping in housebuilding.

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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

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342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[604] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for ex-
[768] ample, return to the parental community with their children. There are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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coresidence rather than kinship that has been reported to be the governor of exogamy (Kirchoff, 1931). In a sense this seems to be true of the Cubeo as well.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahúkiwa* generation mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tcimá* (cross-cousin). The boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sibling group, and were initiated into the *Bahúkiwa* ancestral cult. Because of the close association of these boys with their *Bahúkiwa* age mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not marry *Bahúkiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they wished, marry into the *Bahúkiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be embarrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awkward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only community exogamy.

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib exogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers" and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient, or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is

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621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most [823] important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

361 823 The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of 361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear 614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo 615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahúkiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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592 554 [433] providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

241 262 Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*karáiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaindryo, waiwari, mod, pudjú, kanéka,* and *kabéka.* In addition there are sugar cane (*kwadmene*), pineapple, (*ihibo*), banana (*djwéye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*une*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash [273] (*hahámu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butei*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [857] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [242] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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Development of the Individual

The development of individual character is always relevant to an understanding of social organization. In the case of Cubeo social organization, founded, as it is, upon the lifelong continuity of the sibling group of males, the psychological factors are of particular importance. The following discussion will attempt to show the relationship between some of the experiences of a Cubeo from infancy to adulthood and some of the formal principles of Cubeo social organization. By and large, Cubeo social organization must conform to the direct psychological dispositions of its members for the commanding reason that the people have a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. The sib, as we have noted, is readily split; this means, in psychological terms, that those who find any cause for dissatisfaction with life within the community are quick to leave. The community, therefore, is constantly being drained of its malcontents. Those who remain are, in a manner of speaking, in harmony with one another. This harmony, it should be said at once, is not that of homogeneity. It is based rather upon individual complementarities, of extraversion-introversion, active-passive, and leader-follower, as in any community. The harmony is between the requirements of adult life and the experiences of childhood.

The Cubeo use the following age-grade terms. The nursing infant from birth until it learns to crawl is called *abohoidjó* (male) or *abohokó* (female); a crawling infant is *tcumí* (male or female, although *tcúmiko* is possible for the female); the walking child who

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In preparing chicha, the manioc is allowed to soften for four days. It is left in the maloca covered with leaves until it has turned a dark green color and has lost much of its moisture. Then it is grated, pounded through a sieve, and put through the tipiti press. The dry lumps are toasted lightly on the manioc oven and stirred into a fine grain. Small manioc cakes are prepared from these grains. The cakes are thoroughly masticated and the saliva-drenched balls are mixed with water. After fermentation has begun, a quantity of sugar cane extract is added, and this mixture is left to ferment for several days. Masticated pupunha mash may be substituted for the manioc. A mixture of pupunha mash with sugar cane extract makes a potent and very laxative drink. Many communities add maize as well as a variety of root plants to a basic manioc mash.

This period of preparation is one in which the house is spruced up and personal possessions and ornaments are inspected, compared, and readied for wear and display. Nowadays women regard their long cloth skirts as gala wear. If it is to be an important drinking party a woman hopes to have a new skirt that she has never worn before. All the elaborate male ornamentation of feather headdresses, necklaces, girdles, and pendants are fetched out and tried on. Musical instruments – Panpipes, long flageolets, whistles – are tuned and repaired. Songs are practiced and dance steps tried out. A nightly respite from the labors of manioc preparation is the amusement of watching the children play at dancing the adult dances, singing the dance songs, tasting the freshly prepared batches of chicha, taking coca, smoking, and listening to the old men chant snatches of the origin traditions. The mood is such that the minor rancors of community life are smoothed out. The headman takes advantage of this mood to bring the Satellites back as permanent residents of the community. The Satellites are normally invited to be cosponsors of a sib affair, bringing a contribution not of manioc but of sugar cane, or pupunha when that fruit is in season. The headman believes that when the estranged sibmates see how happy all are they will want to come back. There is no doubt that a Satellite is strongly drawn to the festive spirit of the main maloca. But he always has the time during the hangover of the morning after to consider whether it is worth returning.

The headman makes the first proposal for a drinking party and discusses the date and its scale with the male household heads. Cosponsorship means that a household head undertakes to prepare a notable amount of chicha that can be shown to the guests. When the invitations go out, the names of the cosponsors are given, and when

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571 614 tion of this statement would be that the development of the sib organization out of perhaps some more amorphous form of patrilineal, patrilocal organization is to be attributed to the process of federation itself. That is to say, by confronting a series of equivalent segments, each segment undertakes to assert its own clear identity. A sib, after all, is a unilinear descent group that has undertaken to differentiate itself categorically from like groups by means of such obvious symbolic devices as a name, a common tradition, and a theory of common descent. In the absence of federation this process of categorical self-identification would probably not occur. The process of sib formation, as a consequence of federation, is alleged in this instance for the Cubeo only. It may, however, prove to be a more general process. Elsewhere in the tropical forest the clan organization (parallel to the Cubeo sib) is associated with moieties. The apparent exception of the Witotoans is in all probability simply a matter of incomplete information.

571 614 621 3. *Independents and Satellites.* It is at this social level that the issues of linkage-autonomy can be most readily analyzed. From the standpoint of those who have removed themselves some distance from the sib, the issue is simply that of autonomy with its counterpart, a circumspectly defined linkage to the main body of the sib. The issue of autonomy arises specifically in relation to the authority of the headman, limited though such authority may be. The Satellites and Independents do not disengage themselves from the sib; they are content simply to assert their autonomously considered degree of independence from the headman. The differentiated form of the Satellite and Independent house may be a practical expedient for building a small house. Nevertheless, it does illustrate graphically the point of linkage-autonomy, since the square house, as has been demonstrated, does not meet the requirements for total autonomy with respect to sib functions.

571 592 614 4. *Sib-household.* The household, as has been demonstrated, has its clearly defined zone of autonomy. It has its own compartment in the maloca; it prepares its own food; it has its own manioc plantation; and it contributes its identified share of the chicha to both intrasib and intersib drinking parties. No one who has lived any time at all among the Cubeo can fail to be acutely aware of the assertion of autonomy, within the context of linkage, of each household. A sib-lineage and a lineage-household relationship along the linkage-autonomy gradient did not emerge clearly enough in my study to be included in this discussion.

592 571 5. *Patrilocal household–wife.* The demand of a newly wed wife for

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband.

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in ecohomic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack.

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart.

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their

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(621) main emphasis upon the person and not upon the community. Such an emphasis, needless to say, tends to favor autonomy over linkage.

It is evident that the foregoing discussion of linkage-autonomy is in many respects simply a restatement of the familiar concept of segmentation. There are, however, significant differences that justify the use of other terminology. Segmentation as defined by Nadel (1953, p. 177) refers to a more limited set of relationships than have been included here. As an example of segment he describes a "hierarchical structure being arranged in an order of progressive inclusiveness, as lineages, for example, build up clans, and clans build up a tribe, or as several village communities form a district, and several districts the state. . . ." From the standpoint of this definition, Cubeo society is, of course, segmentary. The concept of segmentation, however, is purely objective, and as such is pertinent to the purposes of social anthropology. However, the term "segmentation" carries no cultural connotations, since it does not define the point of view of the members of the culture. Therefore it is inadequate for the aims of cultural anthropology. The concept of linkage-autonomy, on the other hand, expresses a cultural, a Cubeo, point of view and indicates how this point of view is embodied in social structure. This Cubeo point of view, which places a value both upon extending relationships and maintaining autonomy, goes beyond the structural patterns that are commonly included under the concepts of segmentation. It is a more inclusive concept.

LATERAL AND HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIPS

All social structures are regulated by bonds of relatively equivalent status relationships, as well as by bonds of nonequivalent or unequal status relationships. The former, existing on roughly the same social plane, are called lateral, and the latter, existing on different social planes, are called hierarchical. Hierarchy is always a culturally defined term and represents a clear-cut distinction of relative worth. Lateral is also a culturally defined term, but laterality is not a clearly set relationship of status equivalence. Hence it must be modified by
571 the adjective "relative." The ranking of sibs is a clear example of
602 hierarchy among the Cubeo, whereas kinship relations, including
554 ceremonial friendships, are lateral. However, since kinship relations
(614) also embody formal principles of hierarchy, such as generation, seniority, consanguinity, and affinity they are lateral only by contrast with the strongly hierarchical distinctions of authority, power, pres-

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tige, and rank. Societies differ with respect to the relative role these two principles have in the social structure. That of the Cubeo is very strongly lateral and only weakly hierarchical. Even the ranking of sibs has ritualistic rather than political significance. Rank confers prestige but no power. On the other hand, it does confer economic privilege of a sort by granting to the high ranks superior river rights. But the Cubeo themselves do not make an issue of this economic distinction. Political authority, as we have shown, is relatively slight. In kinship, age, generational, and descent seniority elicit some respect and provide for ritual precedence. Such precedence is a prestige point. But the prestige accrues less in everyday affairs than upon formal occasions. Thus, from the Cubeo point of view virtually all relationships between persons and between groups are lacking in dominance-subordination, whereas only in rituals, that is, only upon the plane of the sacred, are there distinctions of worth and of respect. Even these are rather minor, involving only ritual precedence. The ritual pattern itself is not hierarchical. Now segmentation, as Nadel has observed, is a hierarchical form of organization, yet in the case of the Cubeo, segmental hierarchy has little cultural significance. Since the phratry has no organization of leadership it is not, in actuality, a "higher" segment. For all secular purposes the sibs deal with one another as equals.

The principal characteristic of a strong lateral structure, such as that of the Cubeo, is its considerable flexibility in forming new linkages and in rearranging old ones. Hierarchical structures, on the other hand, are dependent upon, or subject to, the authority of a higher-ranking segment. The new linkages that any Cubeo household is free to establish are limited far more by personal preferences than by inviolable principles. Sib exogamy is such an inviolable principle, but phratric exogamy is somewhat different. It involves not the "dread" of incest but rather the sentiment of confraternity. Cubeo flexibility responds to the absence of political constraint. Sibs can move about, and can, if they wish, change phratric affiliation.

FISSILITY

From the two preceding principles of sociocultural structure there follows a third, ease of fission. Every segment of the entire social structure has the capability of detaching itself from the larger body. The factions that have actually broken off include sib clusters, sibs,

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621 households, and individuals. Fission is an objective social process, a by-product of Cubeo cultural principles of autonomy and social equality. It is promoted, as well, by another cultural principle that we have not yet discussed. That principle I would describe as a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. That is to say, in the absence of political constraint and of economic necessity the Cubeo find it easier to leave an uncomfortable situation than to endure it.

PERIODICITY

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614 Since the sibs join together on the basis of linkage-autonomy and upon lateral rather than hierarchical lines, some loosening of bonds (574) would seem to be inevitable. The periodicity in drinking parties is the only measure we have of changes in the strength of attachment of sib bonds. These parties, we have noted, follow a cycle starting from full attendance and a very high state of mutual confidence and ending in a series of parties that are poorly attended and are conducted in an atmosphere that is dismal and heavy with distrust. Eventually confidence is restored and a new cycle begins. The period from high to low runs about one year. Periodicity is not a cultural principle; it is a consequence of several other cultural principles. As already suggested, linkage-autonomy and lateralization play a part in this periodicity because they allow relationships to find a "natural" level. That is to say, there is no formal authority that can step in to restore good relations when the social climate has been poisoned by (621) drunken quarrels and by accusations of sorcery. Periodicity is perhaps (615) to be regarded as an incomplete form of fission at the level of the phratry. Since the phratry is a stronger exponent of autonomy than is the sib, it develops only a few of the pressures that might lead to actual fission. As for other principles of Cubeo culture involved in the periodicity of sib bonds, we have already mentioned the low tolerance for psychic discomfort, and have described its relevance to 571 152 fission of the sib. In the context of the drinking party, and indeed in the context of all collective activities, this principle can be stated in still another way: that collectivity demands its appropriate atmosphere of good feeling. We have seen this principle strongly at work in the mourning ceremony, where the atmosphere of grief, grimness, hostility, suspicion, and fear is systematically and ritually transformed to one of excitement and gaiety. We have also observed that (578) the Cubeo do not harbor grudges for long. When a feeling begins to subside they allow it to subside. When a more neutral atmosphere forms, a new cycle of good feeling can begin.

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Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pathology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly resentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these standards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its natural psychological limts. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indicated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between brothers.

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punishments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the difficulty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, composed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by draining away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse sentiment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkages. The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structure. Yet this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is spotted with social "ions," free-floating men who, with their wives

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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and children, circulate from community to community attaching themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual autonomy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low tolerance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

121 571 [619] [615]

Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalancing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest suggestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance. On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical grounds for any perspective other than the sociological.

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The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural. It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cubeo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honorific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further social and political development. Though the phratric organization is largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through political and economic means. Some of the potential political means are already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolution, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of patterns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of

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to more than one phratry are well known and are taken for granted as minor exceptions to the stated rule. This rule is expressed in a formula that one does not marry inside of one's own tribe-and-language group because one would then be marrying a brother or a sister. Although informants do not explicitly refer to it, they recognize exogamy at the phratry level, and all marriages conform to a rule of phratry exogamy as well as of tribal exogamy. Recognition of the multitribal composition of the phratry is expressed as: "A Tukano will not marry a Baré because the Baré are brothers and sisters with the Tukanos."

The exogamic phratry system is extended fictitiously to all tribes peripheral to and beyond the central Northwest Amazon area, even though members of these tribes may not themselves be aware that they fit into such a system. Despite this fiction, it is safe to assume that any marriage with a member of one of these tribes will be phratry-exogamous. The nonriverine, marginal Makú of the interior lands back from the Papurí River, with whom the riverine Indians described in this paper do not intermarry, are considered to belong to the phratries to which the Tukano belong (the "Tukano-Makú") and to which the Desano belong (the "Desano-Makú"), and are said to intermarry among themselves accordingly.[9]

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A larger mission village is a unit that has been created by missionaries from two or more longhouse groups representing two or more tribes (hence linguistic groups) that have been required to tear down their longhouses, move together, and build separate adobe huts for each nuclear family. A larger mission village also contains a contingent of non-Indian missionaries and a boarding house of school children from nearby settlements. A smaller mission village is a single longhouse group that has been persuaded to tear down its longhouse and substitute a series of adobe huts, one for each nuclear family.

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The rubber-working group, for the Indian, is a unit of eight to ten months' duration per year, to which he belongs over a period of several years, usually in his youth. There are a great many such groups in the Upper Vaupés-Apaporis rubber-gathering area, each operating out of a camp, to which the Indians of the Middle Vaupés region are recruited. Properly speaking, the group includes one or more non-

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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Indians, who are the patrón and his foremen, but they tend to keep themselves apart socially and linguistically from their Indian workers. The rubber-working group forms economically a patrón-peón system, or, more precisely for the Vaupés area, a patrón-padre-peón system. A benevolent role of missionaries in the Vaupés has been to minimize the depredations and excessive abuses of the rubber-working barons by requiring them to acquire their Indian workers through the missionaries as middle men.

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A clear distinction is made between tribal group and nationality; a word glossing as "landsmen" is the term used in Tukano for nationality group. There are two nationality groups among the multilingual Indians described in this paper—the Colombian Indians and the Brazilian Indians (the periphery of the multilingual area may include some Venezuelan Indians)—and even the members of the longhouses in the zone most unacculturated to "civilization" know whether they are Colombians or Brazilians. Also, Indians and non-Indians both agree that there are two clear-cut categories of people in the Vaupés: in Spanish these are called the *indígenas*, or Indians, and the *blancos*, or non-Indians (including Negros). However, the Indians feel uncertain and confused about ethnic and presumably "tribal" groups among the non-Indians. A favorite topic of conversation with me was inquiry about ethnic descent groups among such known nationality groups as Colombians, Brazilians, Venezuelans, and "Americans" (of the U.S.A.). Apparently the Indians are trying to set up a folk taxonomy for non-Indians within the Indian frame of reference. They have long been familiar with members of Dutch, German, English, Spanish, and Portuguese ethnic groups; they are confused about the nationality as against the ethnic status of some of these, especially of the latter two. Many Colombian and Brazilian nationals whom the Indians frankly regard as mestizos or creoles claim not only to be blancos but also "Spaniards" or "Portuguese"; yet they do not resemble the Dutch, German, or English blancos. (In Tukano the word for "blanco," best glossed from Spanish as "non-Indian," is derived from a form also used in the derivations of "fire, shotgun, fireplace"; the occasional blanco-sponsored request for a new form in Tukano that would gloss as "white" is consistently rejected.)

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